The Southern PATRIOT

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A CHRISTMAS DREAM

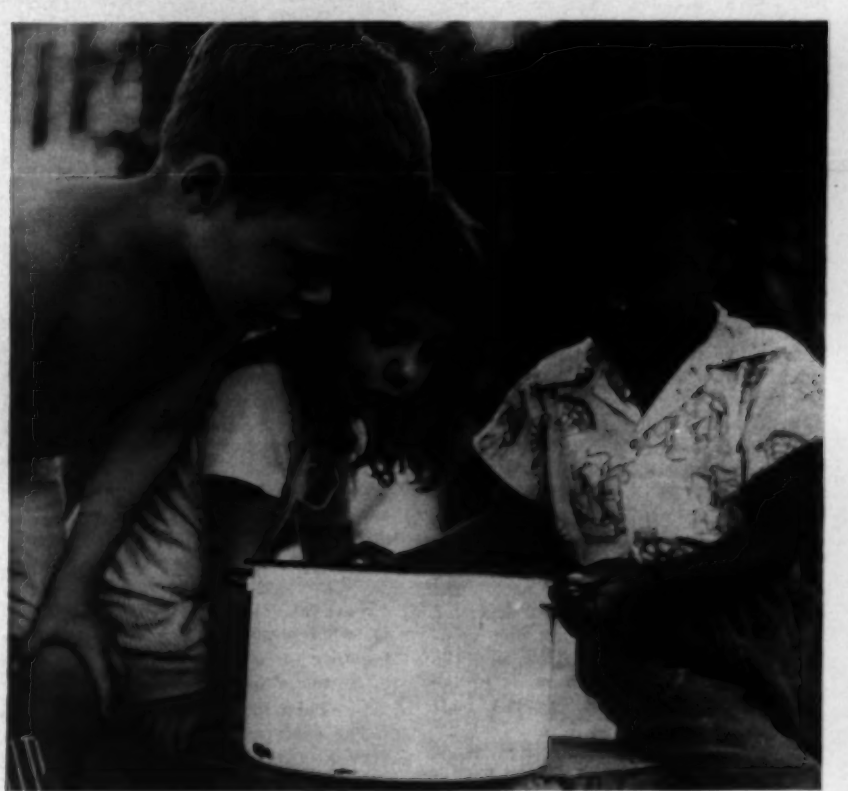
A small dog picking at a bone was all
The Yule star lighted on a pillaged earth—
That was the cold unhallowed dream I had
Of future feasts marking the martyred birth.

No jolly tree arose from midst the muck
As the little dog ate without a guest—
As the pallid star wept to view life's last
Absurd delight at nature's conquest.

And then, awake, I saw the dog and star
And saw dark ruin in the rum-soaked cake
And knew what boon alone can flesh the bone
And hush the haunted heart's abiding ache—

Give us to each the present courtesy
Of being men of like eternal face
Give brotherly hand at history's brink—
Or else we wag ourselves to hollow space.

—Alfred Maund



AS NICE A CHRISTMAS PICTURE as we could find was this of the young "tadpole-watchers" at the All-Austin Nursery School in Austin, Texas. Early in 1953 the parents of these children decided that "segregation is an ever-present barrier" to learning to live in today's world. They formed this school so that their children would "develop healthy attitudes based on individual worth" and so that they, adults of different backgrounds, could "experience some of the same values" by working together in the project. It has been a going, happy concern ever since.

Conference Planned On Integration

A Southwide Conference on Compliance with the Supreme Court Decision on Segregation in the Public Schools is being planned by a group of 200 sponsors from all the Southern States under the Chairmanship of Bishop Sherman L. Greene, President of the Council of Bishops of the A. M. E. Church.

In Atlanta last month a planning committee decided that such a conference would provide a valuable forum for exploring ways of gaining regional compliance with the Supreme Court's decision outlawing segregation in public education.

Furthermore, it was felt that the conference could help dispell some of the uncertainty and confusion in bold presentation of the benefits that will accrue to all races from the lowering of "separate-but-equal" barriers.

The following represents the thinking

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BROTHERHOOD: A PARABLE

Once upon a time, many thousands of years ago, there lived two brothers in the land of Israel to whom their father bequeathed a field which they tilled together in partnership. One of them was unmarried, and the other married with children.

They lived together happily in brotherhood and shared equally whatever God gave them. At harvest time they divided the produce of the field and stored it, each in his own granary.

One night, after storing his corn and wheat, the unmarried brother could not sleep.

"It's unfair," he thought, "for me to take half of the produce, in view

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SOUTH-WIDE CONFERENCE TO MAP INTEGRATION CREDO

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which led to the arrangement of the conference:

Background

The Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in the public schools introduced a new dynamic into the social, moral and economic life of the South. The forces toward true democracy which this edict sanctioned have been gathering for several decades. The court itself designated the stages of evolution of the "Fluid South" with its decisions on voting, transportation and higher education. And the regional acceptance of integration in these fields bore out the validity of this appraisal.

There is no serious question that, from Mississippi to Delaware, equality of opportunity for all races will eventually prevail. But the length of the period before such a condition comes to pass should be the concern of every person who has any humanitarian or economic concern with the welfare of the South and its people. The sooner the time of integration, the less will be the human blight and suffering, the greater the gain in health and prosperity.

Yet no one can deny that initial reception of the school decision has been mixed in the South. Published opinion generally ranged from negative to ambiguous; difficulty was experienced in some areas that were first to try school integration. Such opinions and such difficulties, of course, have been exploited and over-publicized by organs and agencies with racist axes to grind, and the calm and happy fusion of races in the majority of school districts has been slighted.

But the effect of such propaganda on the thinking of the great neutral bloc of Southerners should not be underestimated. Many parents who have no racial antipathies may well be converted to the segregationist side only because they fear the trouble integration reputedly causes.

Therefore, it seems urgent and advisable to muster, from all the Southern states and the District of Columbia, the broadest possible assembly of persons who are concerned with this issue, and from this assembly to forge an ethical statement and a plan of action which will fill the void left by the timely demise of the "separate but equal" syllogism. The public imagination is ripe for capture by a new, positive credo; local leaders in the fight for democratic institutions will be heartened by this reinforcement; the nation as a whole and the world at large will be reassured by this display of decency and common sense.

The Problem

The problem of desegregation is at least a three-sided problem: (1) legal; (2) political and economic; and (3) moral and religious. The legal question has been settled by the Supreme Court; but the political and economic problem is obscured or ignored, and the moral and religious implications of segregation remain confused in the minds of many people.

The confusion that exists is well illustrated by the recent statements of two Mississippi editors: Wrote Mrs. Jeannette C. Carmichael, editor of the Bay St. Louis **Light**:

"I do not believe in segregation . . Brotherhood of man is what Christ, our Lord, born of Jewish blood, a dark-skinned person, taught—Brotherhood, not hatred. . ."

And Oliver Emmerich of the McComb **Enterprise-Journal** in answer:

"There is no hatred involved in the proposition of segregation. We hold that all discriminations of race should be eliminated but the races can work within the pattern of segregation, maintain the integrity of both races and yet keep the proposition within the realm of Christian idealism."

In the face of such confusion concerning the most urgent moral question confronting the South and the Nation today, it would appear desirable at this crucial time to provide a Southwide forum where everyone concerned could come together for a full and frank discussion of all the issues involved.

Participants and Objectives

The conference would be open to everyone interested, regardless of their views, but would be directed primarily to religious and educational agencies, youth and parent groups, and professional persons who deal with the public and public opinion.

(A). The conference could provide an occasion for the formulation and subsequent distribution of a calm but forthright statement summarizing the basic arguments why it is in the best interest of the South, politically, economically, morally to comply with the Supreme Court ruling. Such a statement bearing the endorsement of a considerable body of representative Southerners would have especial value at this time in helping to shape public policy.

In this connection it should be pointed out that the deep significance of the disturbances in Delaware and other states, is that a movement described editorially by the Wilmington **News** as an "invasion of rabble-rousing racketeers" was able to shape public policy in favor of segregation. There are no reasons why it should not be just as easy, if not easier, to shape public policy in favor of law and order, and in accordance with the dictates of democracy, brotherhood and the welfare of all our children.

(B). The conference would provide an occasion to seek out leaders in all the communities where integration is being tried, or where planning committees or citizens groups are engaged in efforts to encourage such integration, and to bring such persons to the conference to share with others their ideas and experiences. Such an exchange would be helpful as well as inspiring, and might serve to promote favorable action at the community level.

(C). One question that undoubtedly is of deep concern to the Justices of the Supreme Court as well as to all persons who carry administrative responsibilities in the field of education, is how much support for integration is there in the South, especially in the deep South. The answer to this question is important in establishing a time-table of compliance. In this connection the proposed conference might provide useful data.

It is not anticipated that the proposed conference would duplicate or overlap in any way the work of other agencies such as the NAACP. The NAACP has provided able and courageous leadership on the legal front, and it is intended that the proposed conference, stressing other aspects of the problem and especially the moral and religious aspects, would provide valuable supplementary aid to this and other agencies in the field.

Following is a partial list of sponsors:

Rev. James Armstrong, Methodist Minister, Jacksonville, Fla.; **Miss Angela Bambace**, Mgr., Upper South Dept., ILGWU, Baltimore, Md.; **Dr. Albert E. Barnett**, Prof. of New Test., Candler Sch. of Theol., Emory U., Ga.; **Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune**, Pres. Emeritas, Bethune-Cookman College, Fla.; **Mr. Irving Brant**, Author, Editor, Washington, D. C.

Dr. William A. Calder, Prof. of Physics & Astronomy, Agnes Scott College, Ga.; **Dr. Albert Howard Carter**, Prof. of English, Univ. of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Ark.; **Dr. John S. Chambers**, Exec. Sec'y., Ky. Council of Churches, Lexington, Ky.; **Mr. Robert A. Childers**, Pres., Childers Mfg. Co., Houston, Tex.; **Dr. Richard O. Comfort**, Dir. of Town & Country Church Work, Synod of Mo., Presbyterian Church USA.

Mr. John Wesley Dobbs, Grand Master, Prince Hall Masons of Ga; **Rev. Albert D'Orlando**, 1st Unitarian Church, New Orleans, La.; **Rabbi Julian B. Feibleman**, Temple Sinai, New Orleans, La.; **Mr. A. G. Gaston**, Pres. Booker T. Washington Ins. Co., Birmingham, Ala; **Mrs. Harry M. Gershon**, Atlanta, Georgia.

Louisville Sedition Trials Start For 6 Who Broke Race Taboo

The first of the six defendants in Louisville's malodorous sedition cases was scheduled to go on trial on Nov. 29. The six, white persons who aided a Negro couple in their purchase of a home in a "white" neighborhood, were indicted after the house was dynamited. (See Patriot for November, and issues previous.)

Commonwealth Attorney A. Scott Hamilton dug up the charges under a state law passed in 1920 and never before invoked. He raided the homes of the accused to seize books and literature to substantiate his theory that the bombing of the home was a "Communist plot" to stir up racial conflict.

In filing a bill of particulars against Carl Braden, a Courier-Journal copyreader, and his wife, Hamilton listed some 40 "subversive" organizations which they had supported, some 40 "Communistic" books—and among the "Communistic" publications to which the Bradens were accused of contributing writings was included the Southern Patriot.

We plead guilty. Guilty to having Carl and Anne Braden as our Louisville correspondents, that is. And we wish we were guilty of having correspondents in other Southern cities as able and zealous as they are. The "Communist" tag comes as a compliment, from such as Hamilton. It shows that this frail editorial pen must have managed to pierce his skin. We hereby offer him a set of our back files, if he promises to read them.

At a hearing challenging the legality of the raids, Hamilton declared he got information for requesting a search warrant from the Bradens' 16-year-old foster daughter. He had hailed her up for questioning while her parents were in jail in default of bond. He did not make public the affidavit she allegedly signed.

As basis for a second warrant Hamilton relied on the statement of a city detective who saw "seditious" literature when he entered the Braden home, after their arrest, looking for a pair of glasses he had lost.

Carl Braden was to be the first to go on trial. The Bradens, two of the original defendants, and a former union official also face additional charges of conspiring to dynamite the house for the purpose of "advancing the cause of Communism."

These people urgently need funds to protect themselves against this shocking harassment. The Wade Defense Committee, 422 South Sixth St., Louisville, Ky., is receiving contributions. The Rev. M.M.D. Perdue, an SCEF board member, and C. Ewbank Tucker, a prominent attorney, are chairmen of the committee. It has a printed fact sheet on the case available for distribution.

Brotherhood: A Parable

(Continued from Page 1.)

of the fact that my brother has a wife and children to support while I have none."

Quietly he arose, went to his granary, took a great deal of his grain and carried it to his brother's granary.

That same night his brother could not sleep, either. He also thought it was unfair for him to take half of the crop, in view of the fact that his brother was unmarried, had no one to help him in the field, and would have no one to take care of him in his old age. Quietly he arose at night, took some of his grain and secretly brought it to his brother's granary.

The next morning they found to their surprise that each had the same amount of corn and wheat despite the fact that he had taken some to his brother. The next night they started out to do the same thing but in the full moonlight they met each other and saw what they were doing. They fell upon each other's necks and cried with joy and pride in each other's goodness and loyalty.

God saw their meeting and decided that no better place was fit for the Temple wherein men would seek to build true brotherhood. And so, upon the mountain where they met, Solomon built his Temple, dedicated to the Brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God.

(This parable was distributed last year as a Christmas greeting by the Childers Manufacturing Company of Houston, Texas.)

MISS. UNEASY AT SCHOOL BAN

Mississippians will vote Dec. 21 to decide if they will follow Georgia in empowering the legislature to abolish the public school system as a "last resort" to preserve segregation.

Opposition to the measure is mounting, many South Mississippians feeling that it is a plot by Delta plantation owners who have always opposed a strong educational program.

Editor J. Oliver Emmerich of the McComb Enterprise-Journal (whose views on segregation are quoted on page 2 of this issue) declared that the plan was the product of "a situation of confusion and chaos."

He said the idea of shifting from public to state-endowed "private" schools was "so faulty and weak that people have to be intimidated to get it approved."

As one of the instances of intimidation he cited Governor Hugh White's threat to deny funds to the schools if the amendment failed of passage.

Last month White told the Legal Advisory Education Committee that he would refuse to call a special session of the legislature to allocate money for the 1955-56 school year, if the plan were defeated. The last legislative session appropriated only enough for 1954-55.

The day after the governor made that statement he bawled out two reporters who had quoted him in the press, claiming it was an "off-the-record" remark—although the meeting was public at which he spoke. Such is the sensitivity of the amendment's supporters to public mistrust.

The Rev. Charles G. Hamilton of Corinth, Miss., is completing a poll of Mississippi's teachers, asking their views on the plan.

Mississippi's "Citizens Councils," the streamlined Klan-style outfits dedicated to white supremacy through economic pressure, are going all-out for the amendment. These councils got national publicity in an Associated Press feature story by Bem Price on Nov. 21. The article, while neatly stressing the anti-Semitic aspects of the groups, did not mention the counterattack that the state's Negroes have launched.

The Mississippi branch of the NAACP last month voted to submit to the national office the names of individuals and firms who try to use force to preserve segregation. The office will check to see if any federal laws have been violated, and further, will transmit the names to branch offices over the country urging a strict boycott of the goods or services of the parties concerned.

Small Boy Asks Big Questions

LETTERS

The following is printed just as we received it.

To the Editor:

Our class the 8-7 have been studying the problem of integration and segregation.

We have some questions that we wonder if you'd answer (1) Are Negroes & White people allowed to go to the movie theaters and stores? (2) What is being done about the problem? (3) What do the students think about the negros going to the same schools that they go to? (4) Why do the white people despise the negros is it because of pride or are they afraid.

Also if you happen to have any free information we would appreciate it if you would send it to us.

BOBBY LEE MCCALMANT
1303 South 7th
Kelso, Wash.

* * *

To the Editor:

Thank you for the pamphlet "The Untouchables." Being a "civilized" white man, I get into many heated discussions with my neighbors for trying to introduce ethics into orthodox Christianity.

Many of us who are intellectually freed but emotionally enslaved can be helped by being given examples (or instances) where segregation is working the first time it is tried (Washington, D. C., Hobbs, N.M.) You see, "The Untouchables" convinces us that the system we use is unsatisfactory—but we need to be shown further that the only other acceptable alternative can work; because it is working. We fear the unknown.

ARTHUR LEE VAWTER
Port Arthur, Tex.

* * *

To the Editor:

I just finished reading your booklet ("The Untouchables") and deplore the conditions you describe. I know the agony of waiting to be admitted to hospitals, My dearest friend is in an agony of pain and has been waiting 48 hours for admission and I am suffering with her in sympathy every minute of the day—Just heard she will be admitted after 2 p.m. today!

I am a retired school teacher of the vintage when salaries were low; so my retirement income is *very* low. I wish I could do more personally but find it impossible. . . .

ROSALIE M. MONGEL
Philadelphia, Pa.

To the Editor:

You might be interested in our experience driving home from the SCEF board meeting in Atlanta. Mrs. B. and I invited two others to ride with us: Prof. Parsons of the Univ. of Tenn. and a Negro physician, Dr. O. B. Taylor from Knoxville.

I said to Dr. Taylor that he might know better than we what the possibilities are for eating between Atlanta and Knoxville. It was 5 p.m. and we probably should have eaten in Atlanta before leaving, but I wanted to use the daylight for driving. . .

A restaurant at Chattsworth, Ga., refused to serve us, and we brought sandwiches out to the car. Later, at Etowah, Tenn., another restaurant refused, and we brought milk shakes to the car from a drug store.

Both restaurants offered to serve him in the kitchen, but we refused, pointing out that he is a physician, our friend, and a member of our party.

At Maryville we put them on a bus for Knoxville. We all had a very pleasant visit on that trip and we decided to get together for the next trip.

You probably heard that Maryville College is accepting Negro students without any discrimination. This pleases me highly.

LINCOLN BARKER
(Prof. of Psychology
and Education)
Maryville College, Tenn.

* * *

To the Editor:

While I approve the SCEF policy statement and want to help further the total elimination of discrimination all over the U.S., I am chary of Northern solutions to Southern problems and, being a complete Yankee, don't want to be counted a carpet-bagger in any sense.

VEN. R. W. BARNEY
Concord, N. H.

Yes, Santa Claus, There Is A Virginia

Yes, Santa Claus, there is a Virginia. And from that state comes tidings appropriate to the season of good-will.

Last month the Board of Governors of the Virginia Medical Society dropped racial barriers by voting to accept Negro physicians to full membership.

The Unitarian Church of Arlington presented a resolution to the state legislature urging it "aid and encourage local communities in eliminating segregation in their schools . . . as soon as possible."

State Supt. of Public Instruction Dowell J. Howard warned some 4,500 delegates to the Virginia Teachers Association convention that abandonment of the public school system would mean the end of democracy.

One sour note: Virginia State College was obliged to turn down 12 white applicants after the State Board of Education asserted that state law prohibited their admission to the Negro institution.

In Louisiana, the New Orleans chapter of the National Council of Jewish Women pledged to work for effective implementation of school integration after hearing leading clergymen of the three major faiths urge support of the Supreme Court decision.

But in Mississippi, the Presbyterian synod voted to petition the national synod to drop its opposition to racial segregation in churches.

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